# THE CRISIS

## A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

Volume One MARCH, 1911 Number Five

Edited by W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS, with the co-operation of Oswald Garrison Villard, J. Max Barber, Charles Edward Russell, Kelly Miller, W. S. Braithwaite and M. D. Maclean.

Egyptian Portrait of One of the Black Kings of the Upper Nile, Ra-Maat-Neb, Builder of Pyramid No. 17. (After Lepsius.)

PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY THE

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

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# THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION for the ADVANCEMENT of COLORED PEOPLE

OBJECT.—The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is an organization composed of men and women of all races and classes who believe that the present widespread increase of prejudice against colored races and particularly the denial of rights and opportunities to ten million Americans of Negro descent is not only unjust and a menace to our free institutions, but also is a direct hindrance to World Peace and the realization of Human Brotherhood.

METHODS.—The encouragement of education and efforts for social uplift; the dissemination of literature; the holding of mass meetings; the maintenance of a lecture bureau; the encouragement of vigilance committees; the investigation of complaints; the maintenance of a Bureau of Information; the publication of THE CRISIS; the collection of facts and publication of the truth.

ORGANIZATION.—All interested persons are urged to join our organization—associate membership costs $1, and contributing and sustaining members pay from $2 to $25 a year.

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# THE CRISIS

A Record of the Darker Races

***Contents for March, 1911***


| | PAGE |
|---|---|
| ALONG THE COLOR LINE | 5 |
| OPINION | 11 |
| THE N. A. A. C. P. | 15 |
| EDITORIAL | 16 |
| CARTOON. *By John Henry Adams* | 18 |
| BALLADE DES BELLES MILATRAISSES. *By Rosalie Jonas* | 22 |
| AFRICAN CIVILIZATION. *By M. D. Maclean* | 23 |
| "DAGGANCOURT." *By Lloyd Osbourne and Henry E. Baker* | 26 |
| THE BURDEN | 28 |
| TALKS ABOUT WOMEN. *By Mrs. John E. Milholland* | 29 |
| WHAT TO READ | 30 |
| A PROSPEROUS VIRGINIA BANK | 31 |



Actual Circulation of THE CRISIS

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|---|---|---|---|
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# Along the Color Line

## POLITICAL.

Something of a sensation was provided in the Senate on February 10, when Mr. Root, of New York, spoke on the race question.

The incident arose in connection with extended remarks made by Senator Root in advocacy of the Sutherland amendment to the Borah resolution. The amendment provides for Federal supervision over senatorial elections, such as now exists over congressional elections. The original resolution provides State control.

The New York senator said that the national government could not afford to barter away the privilege of supervising senatorial elections in the South if need should arise for such supervision.

Also in speaking of the observance of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution, he said: "There are some things done in the South which may yet make it necessary for the government to exercise the power given it in the Constitution."

Later in the day, Mr. Bacon, of Georgia, revived the Southern question. Repeating the remarks of the New Yorker, Mr. Bacon addressed himself directly to Mr. Root and asked, "What are the things to which the senator refers?"

Mr. Root's response was in no way evasive or indirect. Recalling the substance of his previous remarks, he said that he had had reference to the voluntary surrender by the government of the power to enforce the protection of the suffrage privileges of the Southern Negroes.

Facing Senator Bacon and speaking with great deliberation, Mr. Root enumerated the peonage system, the lynching of Negroes, and the disfranchising provisions, such as the "grandfather" clauses in the constitutions of many of the Southern States, as some of the things calculated to deprive the black man of that equal protection which the Constitution guarantees.

"The people of the United States are willing to fold their hands and wish the Southern people Godspeed in working out their delicate problem, so long as they do so in kindness; but if there should be such oppression as to call for the exercise of the power of the United States to enforce the amendments, that power will be exercised, and it ought to be," he said.

"Does the senator contend for the power of Congress to annul laws now on the statute books of the States, such as the grandfather clause?" asked Mr. Bacon.

"Without the slightest doubt," said Mr. Root.

"Well," returned Mr. Bacon, "the senator has certainly put us on notice."

"I meant to put you and also the country on notice," replied Mr. Root.

On February 16 Senator Borah, of Idaho, spoke on the same question. The senator took issue with Mr. Root and claimed that his resolution, without the Sutherland amendment, does not endanger the Negro. He contended that, as the resolution stands, notwithstanding it gives the State legislatures control of senatorial elections, Congress still would have the right to interfere in protection of any citizen whose right of franchise had been interfered with.

Mr. Borah expressed deep regret that the race question had been brought into the controversy, and asserted that its introduction was intended only to imperil the direct election of senators.

"I wonder how long the North is going to play the hypocrite and the moral coward on this question," he said

He insisted that a call of the roll of the Northern States in which there is any appreciable number of Negroes would demonstrate that the North had not dealt more leniently with the Negro than had other sections.

"The Negro has been used as a political football about as long as our own sense of decency and his developing intelligence will permit. We should no longer mistreat him, but we should have the courage to inform him as to the real situation. We should tell him the truth and conceal nothing.

"The Negro is beginning to realize that the white man of the North is of the same race as the white man of the South, and that in his blood is the virus of dominion and power. He should know that while his slave chains have been broken the chains of industry are being forged around him and will continue to hold him unless he himself can break them.

"When the exigencies of debate are over it will be found that no measure will be offered in the Senate to protect any supposed right of the colored man anywhere. If those who are interested will turn to the Constitution they will find there the one universal rule of equality, the only rule to be applied to the Negro, and the only rule under which we can legislate. If applied it will be proved to be the correct rule, the rule for all of us."

The Sutherland Amendment was adopted February 24 by a vote of 50 to 37. The Borah bill was, therefore, finally defeated.

President Taft and the United States Supreme Court were denounced at the session of the Council of Confederated Methodist Bishops in Mobile, attended by colored bishops from all parts of the United States.

Bishop H. M. Turner, of Atlanta, Ga., said: "The Negro has no rights in this country. The so-called Supreme Court of the United States has always been robbing the Negro of his rights, and Congress and the President of the United States sit silently by without saying a word."

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Governor Blease, of South Carolina, among his other anti-Negro activities, has issued a proclamation revoking the commissions of all notaries public in South Carolina for the purpose of eliminating the colored notaries. Business men have been greatly embarrassed by the Governor's sweeping methods of carrying out his views.

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An ordinance providing for the further segregation of the races in Richmond, Va., has been prepared by Councilman A. L. Vonderlehr. City Attorney Pollard has reviewed the proposed ordinance and pronounces it constitutional and legal in every way. It follows the general plan of the Baltimore ordinance. The Baltimore segregation ordinance has been declared illegal in the local courts on a technicality, but a new one has been drafted.

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During the discussion of reapportionment of membership in Congress a plan to reduce Southern representation in States which disfranchised the Negro was urged by Messrs. Bennet and Olcott, of New York. It was opposed by Mr. Gaines, of West Virginia, and others, and was defeated.

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Representative Edward Green, the only Negro in the Illinois Assembly, held up and perhaps has defeated a joint resolution asking the Illinois delegation in Congress to support the demand for a Constitutional amendment to provide for the election of Senators by direct vote of the people.

Representative Green told the Judiciary Committee that the effect will be practically to disfranchise the Negro in every State in which there is a "grandfather" clause in the Constitution.

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South Carolina is discussing a proposal to work all able-bodied convicts in the chain gang, segregating Negroes and whites, however. In the debate the statement was made by Senator Clifton, of Sumter, that the State farms are unhealthy places to live upon. Senator Lawson, repeating Senator Clifton's assertions about the conditions of the State farms, was answered that "Negroes could live there all right." Senator Lawson objected to the sending of the convicts to the farms if they are such unhealthy places that they could not be sold.

The ordinance introduced into the Kansas City (Mo.) Council providing for the segregation of white and colored residents was defeated. It was returned to the lower house by the Public Improvements Committee with the recommendation that it should not be passed.

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A bill to prohibit intermarriage of white and colored persons (including Negroes and Indians) has been introduced in the Massachusetts legislature by Francis W. Peabody. The petition states that the Negroes are increasing twice as fast as the whites.

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The intermarriage of whites with Japanese or any other "colored" race is prohibited in a bill passed by the legislature of Nevada. It makes the performance of such a marriage by a minister or justice of the peace a misdemeanor. Similar bills by preconcerted arrangement are pending in Washington and Michigan.

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Oscar W. Underwood, of Birmingham, Ala., has been chosen chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the next Congress. In an interview with a Washington correspondent he mentioned that in Wilcox county Mr. Taft received only two votes. As the colored men are Republican and "all the white men Democrats," presumably the two votes were cast by colored men who "met the educational and property" qualification. The census of 1900 gives Wilcox county 5,967 Negro males over 21 years of age. Mr. Underwood does not mention what became of the other 5,965 voters. But as he is sure that the Negro will have to be still further eliminated from politics the outlook for the solitary two is not hopeful.

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## THE COURTS.

Federal indictments were returned at Guthrie, Oklahoma, on January 28, against Duke W. Jeffries, a Democrat, and Willard Smith, a Republican, both wealthy farmers of this county, charging them with offences against the franchise and against the civil rights of Negroes. The specific charge against the men, who were election officials at Seward when the general election was held on November 8, is that they enforced the provisions of the "grandfather" clause amendment to the State constitution. The indictments were returned as a result of the recent instruction to the grand jury by Judge Cotteral who held that the federal constitution is supreme over any State law in granting the elective franchise, and also as a result of the statement, issued prior to the recent election, by Judge John Embry, United States attorney here, to the effect that violations of the election law, reported to him, would be prosecuted.

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The United States Circuit Court of Appeals decided, on February 11, that Oklahoma's "Jim Crow" law is constitutional.

Judge E. B. Adams filed the opinion which was concurred in by Judge W. C. Hook. Judge W. H. Sanborn, presiding judge, filed a dissenting opinion. The court held that the Oklahoma law is not a violation of the fourteenth amendment of the Constitution. The Negroes who brought the action declared they were being denied equal protection under the laws. The case originated in the United States District Court of Oklahoma, where Negroes sought an injunction to restrain the operation of the law which provided that all common carriers must have separate coaches and waiting rooms for colored people.

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Judge Morris, of Baltimore, gave on February 3 another decision favorable to Negro suffrage in the test civil case for $5,000, brought against Charles E. Myers and A. Claud Kalmey, two registration clerks of Annapolis, who refused Negroes the right of registration. Judge Morris, sitting as a jury, handed down a verdict for $250 each to William H. Howard, Robert Brown and John B. Anderson, three colored citizens of Annapolis.

The case has been in the courts for some time, and has assumed the nature of a test case of the suffrage clause incorporated in the Annapolis charter. The hearing on February 3 was purely formal and only a step to the Supreme Court which will decide the legal status of the Annapolis disfranchising clause.

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Miss Pearl Morris sued the Alabama and Vicksburg Railroad, under the Mississippi law, for $15,000 and won. As the basis for the suit Miss Morris alleged that she was sold a berth in a sleeping car in which three colored persons had berths. The case will go to the Supreme Court of the United States, attorneys for the road say, if the State Supreme Court upholds the recent decision.

Miss Morris says the presence of the colored passengers caused her such "suffering and anguish" as to impair her health.

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Judge Ferguson, of Philadelphia, has ruled that the law did not require confectioners to sell soda water to colored people. The attorneys for the defendants raised the point that the law relating to racial distinction only applied to hotels and restaurants, and the judge held the point well taken.

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## EDUCATION.

Ex-Governor Glenn, of North Carolina, has been speaking in the North in aid of the National Religious Training School, a colored institution of Durham, N. C. He advocates both industrial training and the higher education.

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It has been voted to increase the appropriation for the Negro agricultural and industrial school to be erected in Davidson county, Tenn., from $60,000 to $80,000.

Governor Blease, of South Carolina, has demanded the resignation of Mr. Thomas E. Miller, president of the State Colored College at Orangeburg, on the ground of "pernicious activity in politics." Mr. Miller opposed Governor Blease's election. His fifteen years' administration of the college presidency has had the hearty endorsement of the best white and colored people of the State. The Orangeburg Democrat, among other newspapers, commends his ability and discipline and says there has been no friction between the colored students and the townspeople.

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The difficulty at the Government Hospital in Washington over the refusal of the white students to attend lectures with the colored boys of Howard University may be tentatively settled by providing two series of lectures. Dr. White, if the lectures are resumed, will take charge of the white students as before, using white patients; an assistant of Dr. White, using colored patients to illustrate his points, will lecture to the colored students.

Dr. White has not time, he says, for two courses, but the demands of the white students were "backed up by the faculty" and he may consent to this arrangement.

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The sum of $60,000 has just been donated to Fisk University by the General Board of Education, whose headquarters are in New York. The gift is in response to an appeal sent out by the institution, which is anxious to raise $500,000. The Board, by this action, endorses the higher education of the Negro.

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A number of St. Louis men have signed a petition for incorporation of the Dunbar Normal, Industrial and Agricultural School for young Negro men and women.

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Work has been begun on a school for colored children in Savannah, under the management of the priests of the African Catholic Mission Society.

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The term for colored schools ended in and around Annapolis, Md., on January 31 for lack of money. Colored citizens and some white are trying to raise enough to reopen the school and keep the children off the streets.

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The trustees of the Phelps Stokes fund have been incorporated. Model tenements, the education of Negroes in this country and in Africa, North American Indians, and deserving white students, were provided for in the will of the late Caroline Phelps Stokes.

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## SOCIAL UPLIFT.

The State Federation of Colored Women in Alabama has had a bill introduced in the legislature asking for an appropriation for a reformatory for juvenile Negro law-

breakers which they have been supporting at Mt. Meigs. They give statistics showing that there are 105 reformatory schools in the United States, but only eleven of that number are in the Southern States; two in Virginia, two in Georgia, one in Florida, four in Tennessee, one in Texas, and one in Alabama.

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The Memphis Park Commissioners are having trouble trying to select a location for a Negro park. Although the opinion throughout the city seems to favor such a park, every location suggested is opposed by property owners.

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Better care for the destitute Negro children of Virginia is treated in the annual report of the State Board of Charities and Correction. The Board states that it has now a temporary arrangement by which these children are placed in good family homes, and that it expects soon to have chartered an agency which will undertake to provide for children of this class.

The Board, in investigating Virginia jails, says it noted an increase in the number of Negro children confined therein. This was attributed to the fact that there is no adequate provision for the care and training of destitute colored children. They are committed to almshouses, where, for the most part, living in idleness, they become accustomed to getting their bread without being obliged to work for it, or left to shift for themselves, they steal to satisfy their hunger.

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To celebrate Lincoln Day the children of the Congregational churches of Greater Boston donated a sum which may amount to $25,000. The offerings of the children were sent to the headquarters of the American Missionary Association, 20 Beacon Street, and will be distributed in the South for industrial work among the Negroes and the whites of the mountain districts.

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Objections to the present method of segregating whites and Negroes were offered at a mass meeting of colored citizens of New Orleans. A formation of a protective race organization was proposed and plans are now being considered.

It was considered consistent by the speakers at the meeting that white teachers should be removed from Negro schools, if objections were raised regarding the attendance of Negro teachers at a lecture delivered before a mixed audience of white and Negro people. It was also declared that the Negro had for many years blindly followed the Republican party regardless of a knowledge of the facts or policies involved.

Objections were raised to the segregation methods used in street cars. It was argued that white people were given the privilege of moving the restriction signs back into the Negro reservation in case of a crowded car, and thus forcing the Negroes to stand. It was forbidden to the colored people to move the signs into the white portion in the case of a large crowd of Negroes.

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The Æsculapian Medical Society, composed of nineteen colored physicians of Indianapolis, has outlined plans for taking up a systematic investigation and study of tuberculosis among the colored people of the city. Dr. A. H. Wilson, president of the society, said that the majority of the colored people is among the laboring class, with the poverty and exposure incident to many of this class; still, he believed that with a system of instruction as to the value of pure air, wholesome food and sanitation, much of their susceptibility to the disease would be removed. The society has as a member Dr. Theodore Kakaza, a native African, who was for years a student in the medical schools of London, where he had much experience in tuberculosis clinic work. Since coming to America he has completed a course in one of the leading medical universities of Canada.

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The Colored Teachers' Association of New Orleans has subscribed $250 to be used in tuberculosis prevention work. It is proposed to make that amount the nucleus of a fund for the erection of a sanitarium for colored consumptives.

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The Negro Anti-tuberculosis League held its second annual convention at Shaw University, Raleigh, N. C.

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Miss Anna Furness, a visiting nurse in Richmond, defended compulsory education before the Central Labor Council of that city. As to the argument against compulsory education that it would throng the schools with Negro children and cause the whites to suffer, she made the declaration, from her observation, that the colored children now go to school and the white children do not.

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Dr. Taylor, health officer of Columbia County, Kentucky, reports that in the first year of his administration he fumigated thirty houses where deaths from consumption had occurred and in the following year performed a similar office for twenty-eight houses. In the first year nine of the thirty were the dwellings of colored people. Dr. Taylor says he gave talks to the Negroes on ventilation and sanitation, told them to put windows in their houses and to live much in the open air. He thinks this did some good, as in the succeeding year he was called to fumigate only three houses where colored people had died of consumption.

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At a fire in Providence, R. I., many inmates of the burning building were saved by Henry Davis, the colored elevator boy, who, without stopping to investigate the alarm, ran his car rapidly up and down. When the fire engines came in response to a

double alarm, there were none left to rescue, all escaping through their own agility on the escapes and the bravery of the elevator boy in sticking to his post.

One of the speakers at the Thomas Paine centenary was Mr. Hubert H. Harrison, who spoke on Paine's place in the Deistical movement. The Truth Seeker says that he "has the reputation of being the most scholarly representative of his race in America. The intended pleasantry of the Rev. Mr. Marshall, that he honored a man who had such an encyclopedic knowledge of literature as the previous speaker had displayed, might well have been spoken by him in all earnestness and sincerity."

## THE CHURCH.

The Rev. Abraham Grant, bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, died on January 23, after a long illness, at his home in Kansas City, Kan. His wife, Lulu Rebecca Grant, died nine days before him.

On learning of his death, through a telegram, President Taft replied:

"Your telegram announcing the death of Bishop Grant received. I greatly deplore this, and extend to his family, his friends and those to whom he preached my heartfelt sympathy. Bishop Grant and I have been for some years associated in the work of promoting the education of Negroes in the South, and I came to know his high and sturdy qualities. His death is a real loss to his people."

Archbishop Ryan, of Philadelphia, who died last month, devoted much time to the upbuilding of the Sisterhood of the Blessed Sacrament, in association with the foundress, Mother Katherine Drexel, for the benefit of Negroes and Indians.

After years of persistent work in raising funds and finally bringing the building to completion, the colored Catholics of St. Augustine now have a house of worship of their own. On February 5 the Rt. Rev. Wm. J. Kenny, Bishop of St. Augustine, formally dedicated the new church of St. Benedict, the Moor.

## ECONOMIC.

The Edmonton, Alberta, Canada, Board of Trade has called the attention of the Interior Department to the influx of Negro settlers into the districts surrounding Edmonton, asserting that they are driving out white settlers. During the last three years there has been a steady influx into Edmonton of colored people from the South, principally from Oklahoma. This year they are starting to come in increasing numbers, and it is said that hundreds of them are heading northward.

It is said that an attempt is to be made to colonize Negroes from the United States upon land in Mexico. A number of wealthy Negroes of Denver and Pueblo, Col., have organized the Southern Land and Development Company for the purpose of carrying out extensive colonization plans. The company has purchased a large tract of land on the Champton River in the State of Campeche and has had it subdivided into small farming tracts.

A theatre for colored people has been opened in Knoxville, Tenn.

Wagino City, a town designated exclusively for Negroes, is being platted near Altheimer, Arkansas. A local paper says it is believed a village of at least 500 population will be built up there within a year. Lots will be reserved for schools, churches, lodge halls, depot and other public buildings. Adjoining the town site a half-mile race track is being graded and a grand stand and other buildings will be erected to hold an annual fair.

The Negro Business Directory and Commercial Guide of Atlanta is the title of a volume compiled by W. B. Matthews. It gives full information concerning Negroes in business, churches and pastors, colleges and teachers, public and private schools, fraternal and secret societies. It shows that the colored people of Atlanta are conducting more than 100 different kinds of businesses; that there are more than 2,000 separate places owned and controlled by them; that Atlanta has 40 professional men among its Negro population; one old line insurance company and six industrial insurance companies are entirely under their management. Among the establishments there are one bank, 12 drug stores, 60 tailor shops, 83 barber shops and 85 grocery stores, besides bakeries, wood and coal yards and undertaking establishments. There are also 80 hack lines and 125 draymen.

## CRIME.

Negroes living at Hominy, Okla., have been forced to leave the town. A southbound passenger car arriving at Oklahoma City was crowded with refugees who fled fearing for their lives. Not a Negro is left in the section.

Night riders around Hominy several days before served notice that all Negroes must leave the town at once, and, to emphasize the warning, they exploded dynamite in the neighborhood of Negro houses. Some months ago land speculators sold land around Hominy to Negroes for cotton farms. The local whites protested, and their dislike of the colored immigrants resulted in the latters' enforced departure.

Near Wilson, N. C., two colored men were arrested in different places for the murder of a deputy sheriff. Both were nearly lynched and it is not yet decided which is the man wanted, or whether either of them is the murderer.

The effort to prevent the return to Franklin county, Ga., of William Shackelford, colored, has extended to almost every colored society in Cincinnati, and petitions are being sent to Governor Harmon. Among the latest to take that action are the Republican Union and the Union League, each organization sending strong letters to the Governor. It is stated in the letters that in many instances the return of a colored man to certain sections of the South under the circumstances that mark the Shackelford case has been equivalent to a death warrant. The man and his thirteen-year-old son fled from Georgia, after Shackelford had killed a man while protecting his son, who, it is said, in a boyish prank, frightened two white girls. Shackelford still is in the city hospital, suffering from a wound received in escaping. Police Court Judge Bode advised a friend to swear to a warrant charging Shackelford with being a suspicious person, so as to bring him within the jurisdiction of the local courts.

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Sheriff Hicks, of Macon, Ga., started out one day to put more than one hundred Negroes in the county jail for vagrancy. He even took a hand in the campaign himself, making the arrest of several.

The officers approach a Negro suspected of being a vagrant with an offer of work, having been authorized to make the proposition by several of the local manufacturing enterprises. If the Negro declines to go to work, and cannot give any satisfactory statement as to his present place of employment, his arrest follows. After all the idling Negro men have been rounded up, according to the local press, the attention of the officers will be directed to the women.

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Aaron Shepperd, a Negro of Helena, Ark., charged with slapping a white boy, was arrested and given a heavy fine. The man denied his guilt.

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At Baxterville, Miss., the white citizens have driven out the Negroes as a result of race disturbances.

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A dispatch from Stanford, Ky., states that a race war is threatened as the result of an alleged attack upon three white tobacco growers. A white mob organized, but in some manner the colored population got word that the whites intended to lynch the two Negroes in jail charged with assault. The black men immediately organized and took up a stand on a tract of ground in the rear of the courthouse. Bonfires were built and the Negroes, after tieing white handkerchiefs on their arms, announced openly their intention of fighting any mob that put in an appearance. The white mob had sent scouts into town to see the lay of the land. They found not only the Negro mob ready, but the county officials on guard. The scouts retired and the mob did not appear. The situation is still considered dangerous.

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At Eufala, Ala., a colored boy, Iver Peterson, 18 years old, was lynched on February 12. He was taken from the automobile that was carrying him to jail, hanged and shot. A woman said that as she was going from a neighbor's house to her home a Negro seized her. Her screams brought several of her neighbors to the scene and the man fled.

Peterson was found at his father's house and the woman said he was the man.

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William E. Hill, a colored man who has spent forty years in the State prison at Charleston, Mass., has just received a pardon. The impressions which the changed condition of things, countless new buildings, elevated structures, trolley cars, bridges, made upon his mind after forty years' seclusion almost dazed him.

Hill was serving a life term for murder. He is a veteran of the Civil War and had been a model prisoner. The Boston Guardian has been active in obtaining his release.

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## FOREIGN.

The $1,000,000 needed for funding the Liberian national debt has been raised. The claims of France and England have been settled and the European powers have raised no objection to the protectorate of the United States. It is said that in the Liberian ports the American chief officer is to have three assistants, English, French, and German.

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Lord Gladstone, Governor-General of South Africa, has commuted the sentence of death recently passed in Rhodesia against a native accused of assault on a white woman. He declared the evidence insufficient. The Rhodesians are reported as very angry and talking of lynching.

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South Africa is witnessing a recrudescence of the color question. A Dutch member of the Union Parliament has proposed an amendment to the marriage bill forbidding the marriage of whites and colored persons.

The heads of the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches declare that if the amendment is carried they will nevertheless solemnize such marriages. Other churches, except the Dutch, will probably act in a similar way.

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The Dutch Church is promoting a private bill to amalgamate the different sections of the church. A feature of the measure is a clause enacting that colored members of the church in Cape Colony lose their membership if they migrate north of the Cape: while colored people in the northern colonies will be ineligible for membership.

# OPINION

## POLITICAL.

In our last issue we referred to the debates in the Senate as to the effect the popular election of senators would have on the Negro situation in the South. This month we give on page five an account of the speech of Senator Root. There is a feeling among the newspaper editors that the race question was raised merely to cloud the election issue, but the speeches come in for some extended comment. The Boston Transcript says:

"In his speech, and more specifically in reply to Senator Bacon's question, Mr. Root declared that by the provisions of this amendment the Federal Government would have power to annul the suffrage amendments of the constitutions of the Southern States and thus do away with all the grandfather clauses and other subterfuges with which the South has disfranchised the Negro. It is difficult to find an authority in the United States outside the Supreme Court itself whose word would be more convincing than Senator Root's on any legal point. His explanation of this Sutherland amendment, which is sure to pass, will undoubtedly array the Southern senators against the amendment as a whole, and will defeat the proposition so far as this Congress is concerned."

The Rochester (N. Y.) Times thinks it was easy to understand the feeling that the North should not interfere in the South's attitude toward the Negro but feels that the situation is bad. "While the Northern States have not made any vigorous protests against these violations of the Constitution, it is easy to see that there are grave objections against adding to the electoral privileges of States where a large proportion of the persons entitled by the Constitution to vote are prevented by State laws. If the Southern States want their senators elected by the people of the States they should first see to it that the right to vote is exercised by all the people, not alone by those who happen to be of one color."

The New York Press, which earnestly advocates the popular election of senators, says that the race issue has been dragged in by the reactionaries and has no place in the discussion. "When the people shall have won their irresistible fight for the direct election of senators the Roots will forget all about the disfranchised Negro. If occasion should demand it, and it would serve the cause of special privilege so to do, the present champions of the trampled colored voter would no doubt some day strike hands with Southern senators to keep him ground to the dust, and would defend, in impassioned pleas for white sovereignty at the South, the electoral injustice they now sanctimoniously condemn."

The Rome (N. Y.) Sentinel says the senator's contention is not well founded. It declares that no matter how the election of senators may be changed there will still remain with Congress "that power which has never yet been exercised but which lies ready under the Constitution, to penalize States which limit their franchise by grandfather or educational clauses, North or South, through the cutting down of the States' representation in the House of Representatives. Again, it is to be said that the Senate has never yet attempted to set aside the election of a Southern senator on the ground that the Negroes were kept from voting for the members of the legislature returning the senator in question."

The St. Paul (Minn.) Pioneer Press takes the matter more seriously, and thinks the question is one that demands the most thorough and intelligent consideration before final action is taken. "However emphatic the sentiment and demand in favor of election of United States senators by a direct vote of the people, we believe the proposition would be rejected if its adoption would carry with it the indorsement of the disfranchising laws which many of the Southern States have enacted against the Negro citizens."

That the colored man still has some power in politics is shown by various dispatches from Washington. "It is a fact," says the New York Tribune's correspondent, "that some, at least, of the men who by a deal with the Democrats to confirm Negro disfranchisement overthrew the old guard yesterday, are wondering to-day if they have done wisely. Senator Smith, of Michigan, who voted with the insurgents and the Democrats, has a large Negro constituency. So has Senator Cummins, of Iowa. So has, or had, Senator Beveridge, of Indiana. Congress may not deem it wise to protect the rights of the Negro in the Southern States, but that is a wholly different matter from alienating all right to do so in so far as the election of senators is concerned. Of course, there is little probability that this amendment can command the necessary two-thirds vote in the senate, even if the insurgents maintain their unholy alliance with the Democrats, but the very fact that insurgent Republicans have entered into such an alliance is filled with possibilities of ill to their future political welfare, and some of them are, metaphorically speaking, suffering from severe 'morning-after headaches.'"

And the correspondent of the Ithaca

(N. Y.) Journal writes from Washington: "When the proposition for the election of senators by direct vote came before the senate there was every indication that it would command the necessary two-thirds vote and might be speedily passed. Then the Negro issue was raised. As a result there was a long period of waiting. From different sections of the country came reports of apprehension on the part of Negro leaders. It was evident that the Negro is a power in many States even if he is no longer much of a factor in the South."

## THE SOCIALISTS.

The race question has been receiving a good deal of attention from Socialists in New York. The Socialist organ, the Call, printed an editorial on a lecture delivered before a "local" by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, and this editorial brought a protest, of a familiar sort, from one who signed himself "Southern Socialist." In a lengthy reply the Call said:

"The letter by a 'Southern Socialist' brings forward the old stock argument against granting the Negro the economic, political, educational and other social rights that are enjoyed by the white man.

"Granting the Negro equal rights does not mean that you are obliged to be on terms of personal intimacy with him, that you must invite him to your home, and that you must give him your daughter in marriage. But it does mean that he is to have the same economic opportunities as the white man, that his vote is to be of equal effect with the white man's, that the educational opportunities offered by school, college and university are to be open to him on the same conditions as to the white man, and that in all other respects he is to be treated as the peer, and not as the inferior, of the white man. If you desire to be on terms of friendly intimacy with a Negro, that is your affair and the Negro's affair. Society is not concerned with it in the least.

"Socialism calls upon all workers, irrespective of nationality, creed or color, to join hands against the capitalist oppressors. The Negro worker is, quite naturally, somewhat suspicious. He has been imposed upon again and again. Nevertheless, he is bound to discover, sooner or later, that the Socialist movement is radically different from every other movement of the past or present.

"The ideal of this movement—the abolition of all classes and all exploitation—cements everywhere the unity of all who are engaged in it. It is also bound to profoundly affect the relation of the white worker to his Negro comrade. It is bound to open the doors of the trade unions to the Negro workers, who are to be placed on a footing of perfect equality. To the unions this is, indeed, a necessity of their very existence, for to exclude Negroes from equal participation in the struggles of labor for immediate improvement is equivalent to the artificial breeding of strike-breakers.

"But a successful Socialist movement will do for the Negro infinitely more than this. At the very best, Negro equality under capitalism can be only equality with his fellow workers in wage slavery. But a Socialist state of society is the only society in which the Negro will be given, for the first time in recorded history, the opportunity to develop all that is best in him, physically and mentally.

"And in the meanwhile, while the struggle for this great ideal is going on, it is the duty of the Socialist movement everywhere to champion the rights of the Negro. This course, which is the only one we can take, will undoubtedly retard our growth in the States of the South. But steadfast adherence to principle has been demonstrated again and again to be the only course that leads to Socialist success. And in the long run our success in the South is as certain, as preordained, as our success in the rest of the country and in the world."

A number of readers enthusiastically endorsed by letter the Call's attitude. One man wrote that the race question was the most important issue before the Socialists to-day and warned them against "expedient hypocrisy." The writer concludes: "Let us frankly seek the economic freedom of our own class, realizing that the vast majority of the Negroes are of us and must needs be with us or we are lost. Education means agitation. Let us start the propaganda by doing all in our power to bring the Negro into our organization and thus educate our white members to work with him and thus overcome the habit of race prejudice."

## SEGREGATION AGAIN.

The Baltimore segregation ordinance continues to bring out comment. When it was pronounced void, on account of technical defects, the New York Evening Post said: "It is interesting to note that while the judges rendered their decision on the ground of improper framing of the ordinance, they took occasion, in handing down the decision, to touch upon the real issue involved, as follows:

"Whether it is possible to pass a valid ordinance providing for the segregation of the white and colored races in their places of residence, is a question of great importance, but is one which in our judgment ought to be decided when an ordinance not otherwise void is before this court.

"It happens that of the two judges sitting in the case one is a Democrat and the other a Republican, but there is apparently no difference of opinion between them as to the grave doubt that attaches to the question whether it would be possible constitutionally to effect the object arrived at by any device whatsoever."

Harper's Weekly observes: "Baltimore may be the first large community to attempt to legalize a discrimination against Negroes

in the matter of where they shall be permitted to live and to hold property, but a similar discrimination, enforced by means as effective as any written law, is common to nearly all Southern cities and towns. Partial or complete segregation, however brought about, is almost equally common in Northern towns and cities which have considerable Negro populations.

"The general reflection which the facts suggest is that economic discrimination against Negroes is national and not merely sectional. It is not a reflection which should give any of us pleasure. Whatever may be our wisest course with the race in matters political and social, hardly any of us would deny that it is entitled to a fair chance in matters economic and industrial. The right to vote is one thing. The right to work, and to enjoy the fruit of one's labors, is quite another thing."

Inspired by Baltimore, one Mr. Vonderlehr, of Richmond, seeks to segregate the colored population of his town in what the Richmond Leader calls an "eminently wise and judicious measure," which will appeal to the "good citizenship" of the colored man.

"Segregation," remarks the Leader, "has proved to be a mitigation, if not a solution of the race problem." The "Jim Crow" car law, the Leader thinks, has done much for the peace and comfort of the traveling public—meaning, presumably, the white traveling public—and is an "unmixed blessing." "Some ill-advised Negroes have indeed railed against it. This, however, has only accentuated its need and its usefulness."

The colored folk of New Orleans have been complaining that if they are to be segregated on cars and in schools they should not be forced to have white teachers, white bartenders and so on. The Times-Democrat, which thinks that objection to segregation shows an "abject lack of race-pride," holds that the Negroes are justified in some of their contentions.

"The speakers complained, not without reason, that these practices did not accord with the demand of the whites for segregation; were unfair and grossly inconsistent. A protest was lodged also against the methods by which the 'Jim Crow' screens in the local street cars were manipulated.

"We are not at all sure that the objection leveled against the street car usage is well taken, but there is no doubt of the justice of their complaint against the inconsistency of employing white teachers in Negro schools and white bartenders in black saloons. The Negroes have done well to protest, and we think the practices against which they complain can and should be stopped."

## THE "JIM CROW" CAR.

Judge Sanford, of the United States District Court in Tennessee, has decided that the Interstate Commerce Commission may compel interstate carriers to furnish the same accommodations for the same money to blacks as to the whites. The railroads admitted that there was discrimination in accommodations by attacking the right of the Commission to issue any such order. The Commissioners say that if the railroads do not obey their order they will be compelled to do away with the Jim Crow car altogether.

"Indubitably," says the New York Nation, "the railways will carry the case to the Supreme Court; if there the decision should be against them, they will doubtless be compelled by public sentiment, in the present temper of the South, to give the accommodations ordered and thus preserve the Jim Crow car. We heartily wish it might be abolished for all time, as a manifestation of prejudice and racial hatred utterly out of place in a democracy. The true remedy for what are obviously trying conditions is the establishment of the European system of several classes of accommodation at varying rates, just as there are now Pullmans and day coaches. No one who has not had to travel in the ordinary Jim Crow car can, we are sure, have any conception of what decent colored people have to suffer every day at the hands of Southern railways."

The Boston Post declares that the railroads have brought the trouble on themselves by their neglect of their colored passengers. "The system itself has never been found unconstitutional or illegal; separation is permitted, but—and here is the rub of the whole matter—railroads must give as good accommodations to Negroes as to whites for the same money. That they do not do it is notorious. The fight is going to the United States Supreme Court, apparently. It seems hardly possible that that tribunal will hesitate to decide that a black man's money is as good as a white man's and entitled to an exactly equivalent return."

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The United Colored Democracy of New York, which worked hard to elect Governor Dix, is advocating a project to establish a colored regiment in the National Guard of New York State. There was an objection from Adjutant-General Verbeck, who said that colored men were not debarred from entering the existing regiments and that the presence of colored officers would create "unpleasant situations" at social functions. The United Colored Democracy replied:

"We have noticed with considerable astonishment the argument of the adjutant-general against establishing a Negro regiment of the National Guard.

"That argument, reduced to its lowest terms, is this: First, that Negroes can join the present regiments of the Guard. Second, that Negro officers would be brought into social relations with white officers.

"As to the first argument, we wish to say that it is false, and everyone knows it is. Despite the fact that New York's colored population has both former private soldiers and former army officers and many other young men anxious to enter the National Guard they are absolutely barred by the color line. We challenge General Verbeck to show us a single regiment willing to receive a Negro recruit. We promise to furnish a black soldier, and a good one, for every such opening.

"It is because we are barred from entering the Guard as individuals that we demand a regiment of our own. If the color line is forced on us we accept it and demand our own organization.

"The colored people of the State of New York have no wish to force their company on any one, but as citizens of the State of New York they have a right to appear at public functions according to their position.

"It is high time that such class hatred and distinctions should be frowned upon by public opinion. The National Guard of New York is not a social organization—it is a vital necessity to the State, and the common people of the State have a right to enter and officer it, even though they be Negroes."

Statistics were added from the War Department showing the record of the colored soldiers to be superior to that of the white in physique, health, efficiency and also in the matter of desertions.

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## THE LAND OF "SOCIAL EQUALITY."

The political, economic, religious, moral, financial and sundry other evils which, according to certain vociferous Americans, would undoubtedly follow "social equality" in this country ought to be finding their happy hunting ground in South America, if anywhere, but the Honorable John Barrett, director-general of the Pan-American Union, has not been able to find them. Mr. Barrett was in the diplomatic service for many years and has been minister to several South American countries. In the course of a long interview syndicated by the Publishers' Press, he said:

"Another mistaken impression about Latin America, too often current among Americans who know only their own country and travel only in Europe, is that the greater portion of the southern continent is somewhat backward in civilization. This is a most unfortunate error. The truth is that in several of the principal countries there, and in many sections of the others, there are along certain lines greater evidences of civilization and progress than there are along the same lines in the United States.

"Municipal government has, in many respects, reached a higher state of perfection in such cities as Buenos Ayres, Rio de Janeiro, Santiago de Chile and Lima, not to speak of Mexico City and Havana, than it has in most North American cities. Sometimes we hear references to 'graft' in Latin America, but the greatest graft ever known in the big cities down there is insignificant compared with that which has from time to time been uncovered in our municipalities.

"That it should be true is startling, but it is a fact that it costs less to administer Buenos Ayres than it does to administer St. Louis, Boston, Baltimore or San Francisco, the largest of which has about one-half of Buenos Ayres' population.

"Yes, the Latin American has many virtues. Take his home life. Rich or poor, he can be accused of anything but race suicide. The best families in Brazil, Argentina, Chile, and Mexico average two or three times the number of children characterizing the best families in the United States. This may be due to the prevailing religion and its teachings in this matter, or it may be due to race psychology; but the fact remains."

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Mr. W. H. Lewis, of Boston, said in a recent speech: "The industrial outlook in Boston to-day for the Negro is darker than since the Civil War. The blood of the signers of the Declaration of Independence and even that of the abolitionists seems to have run out.

"A recent graduate of Harvard, a young colored man, tried to enter the banking business in Boston, but was refused, and another Negro, a graduate of the scientific department of Harvard and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, went from place to place, but when it was found that he was a black man there was no place for him. This man was refused for no reason but antipathy against his color. You should lend a hand to the Negro right here at your own door."

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The Rev. Dr. Joseph Silverman, rabbi of the important Temple Emanu-El in New York, said in his sermon of February 11, which dealt with "Race Prejudice":

"America never needed another Lincoln as it does to-day. Though the war is ended and the slaves freed and raised to citizenship, there are many white Americans carrying on a war as bitter and unjust as that carried on against the Negroes fifty years ago. If Lincoln lived to-day, he would insist that this issue of the war be carried out in the letter and in the spirit."

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A press dispatch from Washington says that in conversation with Mr. Chas. A. Cottrell, just appointed the first colored collector of the port at Honolulu, an official observed that he would not have any "social preferment" in his new post.

"I'm not going for social preferment," said Cottrell. "I'm going for the $4,000 a year."

# THE N. A. A. C. P.

The Third Annual Conference of the Association will take place in Park Street Church, Boston, Thursday and Friday, March 30 and 31, 1911. There will be a business session, three public meetings and a reception to members and visitors. The public meetings will take up the questions of Segregation, Infringement of Property Rights and Education. The prospects for a large and interesting meeting are unusually good.

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The first Philadelphia mass meeting was held at the Friends' Meeting House, Race Street, on Washington's Birthday. Messrs. Villard, Milholland and DuBois, Dr. Ransom and others spoke. The subject was education.

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On hearing that a Congressional Committee had been appointed to investigate the "third degree," the lawyers retained by this association sent the following letter:

We understand from our clients, the National Society for the Advancement of Colored People and Mr. Oswald G. Villard of this city, that you are chairman of a committee recently appointed by the United States Senate "to investigate the extent among police forces of the species of torture of arrested persons known as the third degree," and, at their request, we give you the following information regarding a case which we have just handled for them in New Jersey.

The case is that of a Negro, Thomas Williams, who was arrested and accused of the murder of a white girl eleven years of age under the most revolting circumstances at Asbury Park, New Jersey, on or about November 13, 1910. It appeared from the newspapers after this date that there was a great danger of Williams being lynched, and, in behalf of the National Association, we made an investigation of the facts of the case and of the evidence which the Public Prosecutor had in his possession against Williams, either as the principal or as a material witness.

In our opinion there was no evidence sufficient to hold him on either of these grounds. Acting for the Association we thereupon procured a writ of habeas corpus and upon the return of the writ an order was entered discharging Williams from custody, the Public Prosecutor having appeared and having failed to produce any evidence on which to hold him for any connection whatsoever with the crime.

Williams is still, however, confined in the county jail at Freehold, New Jersey, on a charge of violating the election laws of New Jersey, he having been rearrested on this charge immediately on the conclusion of the habeas corpus proceedings.

We have reason to believe that during the greater part of the time that Williams has been confined in the county jail he has been subjected to that species of cross-examination known as the "third degree," the intention of the police and of the Public Prosecutor being apparently to fasten this crime upon him at all costs, Williams being the only man against whom they had the slightest clue whatsoever. Since the commission of the crime, other witnesses have been detained but have been released almost immediately, and no further evidence has turned up. The Coroner's inquest produced no testimony connecting Williams with the crime.

Owing to the interest which we have taken in this case from a humanitarian standpoint and also at the request of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, we beg to lay these facts before your committee and to say that should your committee desire it we shall be pleased to furnish any further information which we have in regard to this matter which you feel might aid it in its investigations.

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The following meetings and lectures under the auspices of this association were held in February:

Settlement workers, Philadelphia, at Eighth Ward Settlement, Philadelphia, February 13.

Socialists and Workingmen at Lenox Casino.

Woman's Municipal League, 29th Street. Meeting to form a New York Local, N. A. A. C. P.

Office of Evening Post, Conference with Jane Addams, Jacob Schiff and others.

Lectures at Boston (20th Century Club and Ford Hall) Southold, Long Island; Columbus, Steubenville, and Xenia, Ohio; Detroit, Mich. (three meetings), and at the House of Refuge, Philadelphia, and Stillman House, New York.

The audiences at these meetings have aggregated 10,000 persons.

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Under the auspices of this Association, Superintendent W. H. Maxwell, of the New York Public Schools, is forming a committee to study the question of National Aid to Public School Education. A committee representing this and other bodies waited on President Taft last week and urged official representation of the United States at the Races Congress. The President expressed his interest and his desire to co-operate with the committee.

# EDITORIAL

## THE BLAIR BILL.

THERE is living to-day in the city of Washington a white-haired man of towering physique who was born in New Hampshire in 1834. He was admitted to the bar in 1859 and became a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Civil War. On December 6, 1875, he was elected a representative in the United States Congress, and from June, 1879, to March, 1891, was United States Senator from New Hampshire; and his name is Blair.

On July 29, 1876, Henry William Blair delivered a speech on "Free Schools" in the House of Representatives which marked the beginning of his career. In 1881 as Chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor in the United States Senate, Mr. Blair introduced the celebrated Blair bill.

The Blair bill was discussed for ten years, passed the Senate of the United States three times, commanded at least twice a majority in the House of Representatives, although it was not permitted to come to a vote, and was finally defeated in the United States Senate in 1890 by a combination of New England and Middle West votes.

The Blair bill as reported to the 48th Congress provided:

"That for ten years after the passage of this act there shall be annually appropriated from the money in the Treasury the following sums, to wit: The first year the sum of $15,000,000; the second year, the sum of $14,000,000; the third year the sum of $13,000,000, and thereafter a sum diminished $1,000,000 yearly from the sum last appropriated until ten annual appropriations shall have been made, when all appropriations under this act shall cease; which several sums shall be expended to secure the benefits of common-school education of all children of the school age mentioned hereafter living in the United States.

"Sec. 2. That such money shall annually be divided among and paid out in the several States and Territories in that proportion which the whole number of persons in each, who, being of the age of ten years and over, cannot read and write bears to the whole number of such persons in the United States; and until otherwise provided such computation shall be made according to the official returns of the census of 1880.

"Sec. 5. That the instruction in the common schools wherein these moneys shall be expended shall include the art of reading, writing and speaking the English language, arithmetic, geography, history of the United States and such other branches of useful knowledge as may be taught under local laws, and shall include, whenever practicable, instruction in the arts of industry, and the instruction of females in such branches of technical or industrial education as are suited to their sex, which instruction shall be free to all, without distinction of race, color, nativity or condition of life: Provided, that nothing herein shall deprive children of different races, living in the same community, but attending separate schools, from receiving the benefits of this act the same as though the attendance therein were without distinction of race."

The sentiment in favor of this bill was tremendous. Garfield mentioned it in his inaugural address, the Peabody trustees favored it, Dr. J. L. M. Curry spoke for it, the American Missionary Association, the Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian Missionary and Educational Societies sent in memorials signed by men like Michael Strieby and Samuel C. Arm-

strong of Hampton; State school superintendents from Georgia, Maryland, and South Carolina sent in letters; W. T. Harris, of the Bureau of Education, was "heartily in favor" and Southern Congressmen like Wade Hampton, Vance of North Carolina, Brown and Colquit of Georgia, Lamar and George of Mississippi, Call of Florida, Pugh of Alabama, Bayard of Delaware and Beck of Kentucky, voted for the bill.

There was, however, opposition from influential quarters, an opposition not to education but to Federal aid. It was feared that local responsibility would be weakened and the federal power unduly extended. So the bill died.

What has been the result? In 1870 there were seven and a half million illiterates over ten years of age in the United States. Forty years later there are over six million illiterates. Moreover, these six million illiterates are those who admit that they are illiterate. How many more millions have deceived the census takers? Then, too, the ability to read and write does not spell intelligence.

In other words, we have to-day in the United States a staggering problem of sheer ignorance. Can we found democratic government on such a basis? REVIVE THE BLAIR BILL.

## THE METHODIST CHURCH, NORTH.

IN 1844 the general conference of the Methodist Church sitting in New York City, by a vote of 110 to 68, suspended from his functions Bishop Andrew who had come into possession of slaves through marriage.

The result was the forming of the Methodist Church, South, in 1845. After emancipation this latter church set off its former slave members into a separate church. The Methodist Church of the North having in a previous century and later lost the colored members of the African and Zion Methodist Churches, began to welcome the freedmen to its doors and to help in their education. The result is that this church to-day has over 300,000 colored members.

Questions concerning the treatment of these members have continually arisen. So long as they could be treated as objects of purely missionary effort there was much enthusiasm. More and more, however, these colored men demanded recognition as men. In 1848 the general conference allowed itinerant colored ministers; in 1852 a colored conference was erected; in 1856 the first colored missionary bishop went to Africa. In 1860 the colored conferences were raised to full power and eight years later Negro delegates sat in the general convention. From 1872 until to-day the question of a black bishop has bothered the conference and several candidates have been voted for. Colored men have been elected to general offices in seven cases, but always with authority over Negro affairs.

Here at last the church stands. But a new question appears. Gradually a better feeling has grown up between the Northern and Southern white sections of the church and many dream of reuniting the two halves. But—and here's the rub—the price of amalgamation is for the Northern branch to give up their principles on the Negro question. Southern white servants of Christ will hardly sit in general conference with black men and certainly Negro presiding elders and bishops would be unthinkable.

Therefore (and is not this characteristically American?) the Methodist Church is here and there quietly and cautiously suggesting to its black members: "Would you not *like* to withdraw and be separate and have your own *bishops*?"

"Come unto Me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden and I will give you rest!"

## ABRAHAM GRANT.

ONLY America could furnish the contrasts for a life like that of the late Abraham Grant, bishop of the African Metho-

"SOCIAL EQUALITY"
*Drawn by John Henry Adams*

dist Church. He was born in Florida in 1848, sold as a slave into Georgia, and served as clerk, steward and inspector of customs. Finally he became a preacher and was elected bishop at the early age of forty. In this, perhaps the highest office in the gift of colored Americans, Bishop Grant served for nearly a quarter of a century.

On the whole he represented the better element of the Church. He was not a learned man, but he was clean and honest, and his magnificent physique and hearty manner, together with his undoubted business tact, wielded wide influence. It is significant of a new day that such a man was able to distribute fifty thousand dollars in his will to Negro education, and that a President of the United States was led publicly to record his death.

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## THE WHITE PRIMARY.

MANY well-intentioned Americans argue this way: the present disfranchisement laws of the South are unfair, but in time, after the special exemptions under the grandfather clause have run out, justice will prevail and all men will vote under educational and property restrictions.

The prospect for this outcome is not reassuring, because few people realize that even the colored voters of States like Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana, who pass the present restrictions, are disfranchised again by the white primary.

It is this fact, which has been seldom discussed, that explains many contradictions. Senator Percy, of Mississippi, says, for instance, "There is no such thing as Negro suffrage in Mississippi and never will be as long as the white men of the State stand together." The Atlanta Constitution said repeatedly in the first Hoke Smith campaign:

"Negroes are already disfranchised in Georgia—why pass a constitutional amendment?" A judge on the bench of another State said in a decision: "Negroes do not vote in this State and ought not to, but they ought to get justice." At the same time white Southerners declare that in every Southern State the Negro who complies with the law can vote.

What is the answer to this paradox? It is simple: the "White Primary."

Professor Macy, of Iowa, one of the foremost students of our politics, says:

"The Democratic party in the Southern States has thus come to be an aggregation of white citizens organized to maintain continued ascendency in State and local government. It lacks an essential characteristic of political parties in a free democracy, in that it does not rest its claim to such dominion upon the unrestrained choice of a free voting constituency. It is organized, not to debate, but to govern. As a political party, it makes and enforces party rules which have the force of law, and the power of the State is thus made to contribute to the strengthening of the party's hold upon the State. . . . So it happens that the primary election, which, in legal form merely nominates Democratic candidates for office, is, from the standpoint of the voter, the real election whereby local, State, and congressional officers are placed in positions of responsibility and power. It is, in fact, the one election of importance in the State, and the law leaves entirely to the decision of party officers the question who shall be considered qualified to cast a vote. . . . Party officials have entire charge of registration, the preparation of ballots, and the receiving and counting of votes."

Two quotations will confirm this statement. The constitution of the Democratic party in South Carolina says of the primary election:

"At this election only Democratic white voters who have been residents of the State twelve months and the county sixty days preceding the next general election, and such Negroes as voted the Democratic ticket in 1876, and as have voted the Demo-

cratic ticket continuously since, to be shown by the certificates of ten white Democratic voters, who will pledge themselves to support the nominee of such elections, may vote."

The Georgia Democrats declare:

"All white electors, who have duly registered according to law, irrespective of past political affiliations, and who intend in good faith to abide by the result of the party primary and support the nominations thereby, are hereby declared qualified, and are invited to participate in said primary election."

A friend of mine asked a prominent Florida white man in 1910:

"Are there any Negro Democrats?"

He answered with the utmost surprise:

"Why, we wouldn't let a Negro vote the Democratic ticket."

In other words, by erecting a single party as a State within a State and giving it absolute private control of primary elections and the absolute right to say who shall vote in the election there arises the complete disfranchisement of any group the majority wills. For instance, Louisiana disfranchises all of her Negro voters except 1,743, and then by the "White Primary" system she disfranchises the rest. Such a system must, of course, be backed by a strong invincible public opinion to be successful. It involves two elections—the second merely a formal registering of the decision of the first. Since, however, the first election is a party affair there can be no official returns. Moreover, the State cannot vote upon the great questions of the day that divide the nation into parties. Secondly, the official election becomes simply an unimportant and perfunctory thing.

How long before this curious combination of law and mob rule, backed by class and race hatred, will be used in other parts of this nation?

## POLITENESS.

THERE are two situations where it is hard to be courteous: when courtesy involves public condemnation; and when courtesy is demanded by the discourteous. The first is the problem of the white American, the second is the dilemma of the black American. Shall you rise in the street car and give that colored woman a seat, Mr. O'Brien, despite the grins and comments of your fellows? And you, Mr. Johnson, shall you surrender your seat to the white woman whose manner toward you is a personal insult?

Yes—yes, in both cases, and yes, with a full realization, a personal realization, of the cost. A raised hat, or a title of courtesy in the South by any white man to any colored woman usually means severe social condemnation. For a Negro to offer courtesies to white people usually means that the courtesy will be snatched as a right, or angrily refused; even if it is graciously accepted there remains in the Negro's breast the knowledge that he is giving what he, his wife or his child would never receive under reversed circumstances, and he half despises himself for being a gentleman.

Such feelings explain much apparent discourtesy. White men, particularly Southern white men, are often more harsh, sharp and insulting to colored people than they would dream of being were it not for the battle between instinctive courtesy and fear of public opinion which is raging in their own hearts. They resent passionately the false position to which they are thus forced and the victim suffers.

So, too, black men are often rudely and impudently impolite, truculent even toward friends and well-wishers because they are blindly and instinctively throwing up defenses against possible insult or taking present revenge for past discourtesy.

All this is wrong. No black man can afford to be less than studiously polite even in the face of possible insult. And the white man, North or South, whose courtesy does not extend to the weak, the helpless and the black, is not a gentleman, no matter whose grandson he may be.

# Ballade des Belles Milatraisses

**(The Octoroon Ball)** **New Orleans, 1840-1850**

**By ROSALIE JONAS**

[NOTE.—These celebrated "Octoroon Balls" took place in a handsome building in the Creole quarter of New Orleans. In later days this same building has been turned into a Catholic convent. "Milatraisses" was the generic term for all that class—the octoroon, or quadroon woman. "Cocodrie" (meaning in Spanish Cocodrilla, the crocodile) was the nickname for the unmixed black man, who lighted "les belles milatraisses" through the dark Spanish streets by the ray of his hand lantern, but could go no further than the door of the hall, on pain of death. "Trouloulou" (the Turtle) was the nickname applied to the male octoroon, the one man of "color" admitted, who could find admittance to these orgies only in the capacity (in those days distinctly menial) of musician-"fiddler."]

'Tis the Octoroon ball! And the halls are alight!
The music is playing an old-time "Galop"
The women are "fair," and the cavaliers white,
(Play on! fiddler-man, keep your eyes on your bow!)
Cocodrie! Cocodrie! what strange shadows you throw
Along the dark streets, by your hand-lantern's ray!
Light "les belles milatraisses" to the portal, that they
May pass; but is doubly barred, black slave! to you:
And the lilt of the old Creole song goes this way:
"Trouloulou! Trouloulou! c'est pas zaffaire a tou!"

The music grows madder! the ball's at its height!
For beauty and kisses, it's Hey! and it's Ho!
These women are fair—for an hour a night—
(Play on! fiddler-man, keep your eyes on your bow!)
And for all dull to-morrows, to-night who'd forego!
The music grows madder! "Play! Trouloulou! play!"
Your women are frail, and your masters are gay!
Cocodrie in the dark marks them flee and pursue!
And the lilt of the old Creole song goes this way:
"Trouloulou! Trouloulou! c'est pas zaffaire a tou!"

They are ready and willing to love or to fight!
Hot blood is aflame! and the red wine aflow!
These women are theirs! who dare question their right!
(Play on! fiddler-man, keep your eyes on your bow!)
Who is it that prowls in the dark to and fro,
To and fro—there! outside!—The door bursts! and at bay!
Cocodrie! in the entrance! not easy to slay!
(Hands off! you mad fiddler! or die with him, too!)
And the lilt of the old Creole song goes this way:
"Trouloulou! Trouloulou! c'est pas zaffaire a tou!"

Envoy—The convent.
New Orleans 1840-1850.

They are gone, those light gallants of times long ago!
(Fiddler-man of the past! is this dirge from your bow?)
Are these black-hooded ghosts of the dancers we knew
On their knees at the last? "C'est pas zaffaire a tou!"

# AFRICAN CIVILIZATION

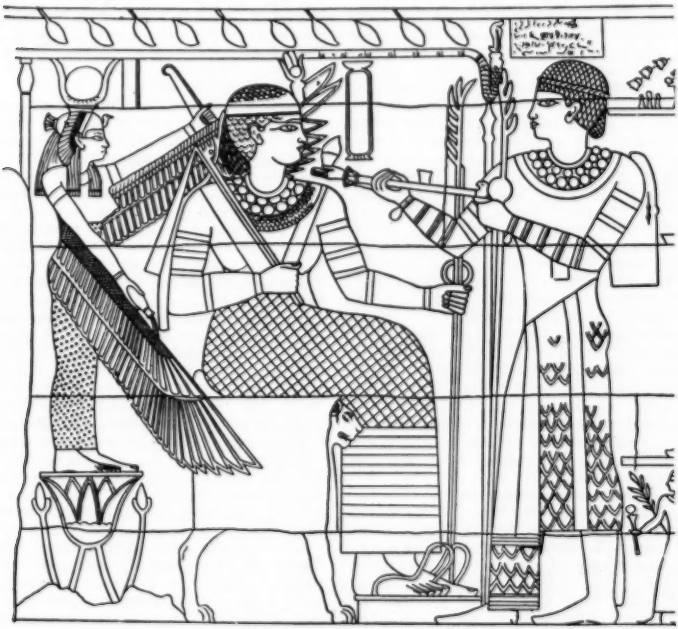
By M. D. MACLEAN

A recent press dispatch tells a curious tale of a German explorer who has found, in a remote region of Africa, a bronze head of fine workmanship. The explorer, according to the cable, has been led to believe that he has discovered the site of the legendary country of Atlantis, represented in ancient Greek literature as an island of high civilization lying far to the west.

It is to be doubted whether the explorer made any such deduction from his find. The Atlantis portion of the story may be the embellishment of an imaginative correspondent, for that long disappeared country has been sought and found in so many places that scientists are wary of talking about it. What would seem a more reasonable explanation of the discovery is that another evidence of an ancient African civilization has been brought to light?

Whenever traces of a high civilization have been found in Africa the first question asked used to be: "Where was it brought from?" Nobody was prepared to entertain the idea that perhaps it was not borrowed from anybody but originated on the spot, among the native races. As time goes on, however, and more and more evidence of a very ancient development appears in Africa, scientists have come to the conclusion that Africa played a very important part in the first stages of the world's history. The testimony of the monuments has been too much for the other theory.

For instance, some years ago there was a good deal of a sensation over the discovery of so-called Phoenician remains in Upper Rhodesia. They were probably, said the dispatches, the remains of dwellings that surrounded King Solomon's mines. Investigation has shown conclusively that they were nothing of the sort, but merely remnants of a native civilization. Mr. David Randall-MacIver, of Oxford University, went to Rhodesia full of enthusiasm for the Phoenician theory, but after a careful investigation his published work left no doubt on the subject. There was



Two Negro Princesses of Meroe (after Lepsius).

nothing about the ruins in the remotest fashion Phoenician or Oriental, or anything but African.

Even more startling results have followed the last ten years of excavations in the upper Soudan. They are not only giving a vast amount of information as to the early history of the Negro but are strengthening the claim that the black man, not the white, was the first to discover the art of working metals and gave this knowledge, which was the first great step forward in civilization, to Europe and nearer Asia. Dr. Schweinfurth, the famous German ethnologist, and Dr. von Luschan, of the University of Berlin, have about converted European scientists to this way of thinking, while in this country the theory is supported by our greatest anthropologist, Professor Boas, of Columbia.

It is not an easy task to put together from the many unrelated accounts of excavations in Africa all that has been discovered as to the black man's past, but it is safe to say that every discovery has tended to confirm the accounts of African civilization which have come down to us as legends from antiquity.

There existed, of course, until quite recent times a high civilization among the blacks of the upper Nile. From Arab books many of the details of this country's customs and government have been gathered and translated into French. Lady Lugard's book, "A Tropical Dependency," gives perhaps the best popular accounts of these records. But in addition to these modern records the country is full of monuments of a great antiquity, older than the most ancient records of the Egyptians, going back centuries before Pharaoh's daughter found Moses in the bullrushes.

How far Egypt took its civilization from the black empire and how far the two cultures originated simultaneously, from a common source, will not be decided until all the ruins have been unearthed and their records read, but it looks as if old theories were turning upside down, as if the black nations of certain regions of Africa were not races in their infancy, but the descendants of powerful civilizations broken by the slave trade and by misfortune in successive wars.

The Egyptians always said that their forefathers learned their arts and largely received their laws from the black people further south. And, of course, throughout the pages of Homer the Ethiopians are spoken of with great respect, like the ancient Cretans, as the friends of the gods. The "blameless Ethiopians" is a common phrase.

Herodotus, many centuries before the Christian Era, told tales of Africa which passed as the purest fiction until a few years ago. A famous instance is his assertion that a race of pygmies existed in the interior. For centuries historians shook their heads over this, as an example of imagination running away with fact, when suddenly it was discovered that Herodotus was perfectly right. Similarly his tales of the ancient empire south of Egypt are being verified from the monuments built by the very people of whom the historian wrote to celebrate their victories and honor their gods.

The most ancient inscriptions along the upper Nile have not yet been deciphered. The story of the Land of the Blacks is pretty well known, however, as far back as the eighth century before Christ.

In view of the common origin of the two civilizations and their close interrelation it is natural enough to find the doings of the black kings chronicled after the same fashion as their Egyptian cousins.

Their writing is like that of the Egyptian, and the gods they worshipped were closely related to the gods of Egypt. We learn from the inscriptions that when Piankhi, the black king, conquered Egypt in 750 B. C., he worshipped without question in Egyptian temples, and the carving in the excavated ruins, which show men and women unmistakably Negro, give evidence of the similarity of religion. Only the idea now is that civilization came down the Nile instead of going up.

The black empire appears to have been pretty well run. When the Nubians conquered Egypt they seem to have abolished the death penalty and set the prisoners to work on public improvements. Indeed, it would appear that among the blacks there was no custom of putting men to death. When it seemed well that a criminal should be removed he was told of the fact, and allowed to commit suicide. Even the king was obliged to commit suicide at the command of his people.

When Cambyses, the King of Persia, conquered Egypt he was anxious to see for himself whether the stories of the greatness of the black empire were true. He sent to the king gifts of gold and palm wine and incense, and asked to be informed whether or not it was true that on a certain spot called the "Table of the Sun," the magistrates put every night provisions of cooked meats so that any one who was hungry might come in the morning and help himself.

The black king, Nastasenen, received the envoys peacefully, though without enthusiasm. He showed them the table of the sun, as described to Cambyses, and took them to the prison, where the prisoners wore fetters of gold, that the Persian might be properly impressed. He did admit, however, that the palm wine was good.

Cambyses made war on the blacks but did not succeed in gaining much ground, so he gave up the idea of winning for himself the gold that was so common in the Negro empire.

Candace, the black queen, was a famous figure of the empire, tales of whose prowess spread to Greece. It would appear from the monuments, however, that the kingdom was at that time ruled by

queens, each bearing the name of Candace. This accounts for the different descriptions of the lady, some showing her as very beautiful and some allowing her but one eye and painting her as very much of a haraden.

These kings and queens, whose records have been deciphered, are of comparatively recent years—not more than 2,500 or 3,000 years old. Even more interesting will be the results of the excavations of the older ruins. "The Ethiopians," says Herodotus, "were the first men who ever lived," and if they were not the first to live it would seem fairly well established that they were either the first or among the first to found a civilization.

Within the last ten years there has been dug out in Crete the remains of a civilization two thousand years more ancient than any hitherto known in Europe. We have the actual buildings, the theatres, palaces and temples, of Crete in 3000 B. C., and we know as facts what was guesswork even in Homer's time. Now, that there was communication between Crete and Egypt 2,000 years before Christ is certain. One of the frescoes found at Crete shows some religious ceremonial done very much in the Egyptian style. Some of the priestesses are white, while others are black. How far back the connection between the African and Cretan civilization dates is a question soon perhaps to be settled.

At any rate there appear to have been two great civilizations at a very early time, that in the Nile country, begun and largely maintained by black men, and that in Crete. The Cretans seem to have been a dark race, rather small, with regular, almost Greek profiles and full lips. Nothing has been found to indicate that civilization came to them or to Africa from Asia, whence it was once thought all knowledge originated.

Everything so far unearthed in Crete and in the Soudan seems to favor the theory that all around the Mediterranean there arose, in the Stone Age, a common race of men who in the course of the centuries developed differing physical characteristics, and they peopled Europe and Africa where the first civilizations arose in Crete and the Soudan.

Royal black Nubians sacrificing after Victory. (The victory is recorded in hieroglyphics below.) (After Lepsius.)

So we see that five centuries ago there was a high civilization which fell before some barbarian invasion, just as Rome fell two thousand years ago and remained for centuries only a romance and a dream. Everywhere we find evidence that there was no one commanding race, that all developed, some faster than others, a civilization.

In some respects we appear to have been traveling in a circle; certainly there have been considerable declines in civilization from time to time, dark ages that followed periods of greatness. There has been no steady evolution from the cave man to the twentieth-century person, who is so sure he stands at the summit. Man seems to have progressed more or less like the famous frog who jumped three feet and fell back two—only sometimes man fell back four.

# "DAGGANCOURT"

By LLOYD OSBOURNE and HENRY E. BAKER

[The correspondence which follows was called forth by the serial publication in Munsey's Magazine of Mr. Lloyd Osbourne's novel, "The Kingdoms of the World." Two colored men figure in this story, the one Stokes, a West Point cadet, and the other, Victor Daggancourt, a boarder at Mrs. Sattane's establishment. Matthew Broughton, the hero, goes into a project for raising mules in partnership with Daggancourt.]

MR. LLOYD OSBOURNE.

*Dear Sir:*

After reading the opening chapters of your interesting new serial, "The Kingdoms of the World," in the current Munsey, I find that they leave a rather unwelcome impression on my mind with reference to the picture you draw of Victor Daggancourt. Of course Daggancourt as a mere character in the literary world you have created may be plausible and even pleasing, but Daggancourt as a type of "the better educated colored man," as you call him, is not only a positive impossibility, but a harmful suggestion.

Whatever may have been the restraints placed around the educated colored man of other days, tending to stifle his manhood and minimize his self-respect, it certainly is not typically true of him to-day that he would so demean himself as to accept voluntarily the humiliating conditions upon which Daggancourt was allowed to remain as a quasi guest at the Sattane hostlery; and to put him in that light before the reading world to-day is a positive (though I really believe, in this instance, an unintentional) unfairness.

The educated colored men whom I know, and I know a whole class of them, would neither seek nor tolerate unwelcome associations of the kind you describe. They would be no more likely to remain at a white boarding house upon the terms you define as satisfying Daggancourt than would white men remain at a colored boarding house upon equally humiliating conditions. While it is true that our respective viewpoints are located on opposite sides of this question, I am sure nevertheless that you will appreciate the force of my criticism.

It is by no means the least of the obstacles to the progress of self-respecting colored men that authors of note, influential writers in popular magazines and newspapers, and many others who daily shape public opinion persist consciously or unconsciously in holding these men up to public contempt and ridicule. Against this "rock of offense" they have no redress except in the saving sense of fair play which may always be relied upon to assert itself in the average man of superior qualities. That is why I am calling your attention to the matter.

I was equally interested, too, in your picture of the colored cadet at Annapolis. It so happens that I myself was the last colored cadet to enter the Naval Academy, having spent nearly two academic years there in the class of '79; and the isolation, indignities, oppression, persecution and general cussedness that dogged my track during the whole of my stay there keep me wondering to this day how I stood it, and why. But I do not recall any experience of my life there that could ever have led me to write such a letter as you make Stokes to send to Broughton after the latter's rescue from the wreck of the Windsor Castle.

I have personally known nearly every colored cadet who entered either Annapolis or West Point—seven all told—and the experiences of all of them were practically the same, personal slights, unwarranted insults, unprovoked assaults and continual humiliation. An experience like this does not furnish fit soil for the growth of such charitableness as you impute to Stokes—it is more likely to have the opposite effect with the normal boy; but then I must not forget that Stokes was only on paper (a mere "paper" man, so to speak), while we fellows were actually on the ground, bearing the real brunt—and giving the real grunt. And the echo of that grunt is with us yet, "lest we forget."

I must remember also that I have seen only the beginning of your story, and maybe "the half has not been told" either as to Stokes or Daggancourt. I shall hope to find some compensating circumstances in the coming chapters wherein Daggancourt and Broughton may be made to tie up to each other in their mule venture down in old Kentucky on terms of equal commercial advantage and with mutual personal respect, and wherein Stokes may be made to give some account of himself in terms that may be translated into manly self-respect. So at least I hope.

Yours very truly,

HENRY E. BAKER.

*Dear Mr. Baker:*

I read your letter with extraordinary interest, and—some chagrin.

Instead of "our respective viewpoints being located on opposite sides of this question," I am most emphatically on the side of the colored people in their hard progress upward.

My delineation of Daggancourt was intended to help, not hinder.

Do you realize that the injustice of our (white) people is so colossal that it is already something for a writer to draw a colored man endowed with such elementary good qualities as affection, trustworthiness, honor, industry, self-respect, etc.?

We novelists cannot *make* the public read us; if it throws down our book in disgust we are done for; when we wish to go against prevailing prejudices and stupidities we need to do it as delicately as though treading on eggs. I find it hard to have you criticise me, for I meant so well.

Things I meant ironically you have taken with a literalness that does me injustice.

Take the place, for instance (I am quoting from memory), where the text runs something like this: "But he might linger in the doorway without impropriety and listen to the superior race."

Is the shade of sarcasm too fine to be apparent?

Compare Daggancourt with the other members of the boarding house. With which of them is the reader most likely to sympathize? Why, Daggancourt, of course! Is it not accomplishing something to achieve that? May it not instill in many a man and woman a kindlier feeling toward your race? Do you not appreciate how we should defeat the purpose we have at heart if we offended the reader? Once do that and he drops the book!

I have dwelt intentionally on all the humiliating conditions surrounding Daggancourt—possibly, indeed, may have exaggerated them—not because I approve—God forbid—but to attempt to rouse in the reader a spark of my own resentment. I consider I should have defeated my purpose had I made my own view of the matter too plain. What I hope to accomplish is to make the reader say to himself, as though the thought were original to himself: "By George, it *is* a pretty hard world for a decent colored man!"

I am afraid you will not think this much of a victory, but *it is*. Probably a million people read Munsey's Magazine, and here and there Daggancourt will make a friend. The picture of a more advanced, more educated, finer, higher type of colored man—in the present truly deplorable state of public feeling—would *make enemies*. The book, too, remember, will also appear in England and in continental Europe (Tauchnitz edition)—in the aggregate a vast field, and friendlier than ours. It may even be translated into French, German and Norwegian, as has been the case with several of my books.

I am confident that on rereading my story—with what I have said in mind—you will find yourself concurring in my view.

As for "better educated than most"—that ought not to be construed as a slight on the educated colored man. Would you not use the expression yourself in regard to a mechanic or some such person?

For the educated, refined, cultivated colored *gentleman*, pitted against our terribly adverse conditions, I have more sympathy and respect than I can well express. My heart goes out to him, and with it my hand.

Believe me, with kindest regards, very sincerely yours,

LLOYD OSBOURNE.

## THE MULE'S ANSWER

"It was at an Independence Day festival at an Illinois town in 1859 that I first saw 'Old Abe,'" writes George T. Ferris in the Columbian. "When Mr. Lincoln upheaved his awkward length from the chair where he sat coiled up it was with a tense and active spring and a face beaming with smiles which transfigured it.

"Through the general clamor hundreds of voices cried 'Howdy, Abe?' The speaker's voice at the outset was a shrill falsetto that cut like a knife; but after talking a few minutes it steadied into a strident, compelling tone that, never ceasing to be a little harsh, obsessed attention and transmitted dissonance into a more subtle music.

"One could wish to have remembered and quoted, for the address bristled with homely epigrams and telling stories. But half a century obliterates detail in such matters, and only two little episodes stand out clear. He had just made some allusion to Senator Stephen Douglas when one of the mules picketed around the enclosure began to bray.

"'There's your answer, Abe!' shouted a Douglas partisan in the audience.

"'Very well!' responded Lincoln. 'It seems to me the mule's heehaw is about the only answer that can be given to the four square truth. Steve tried to do it last year and couldn't.'"

# THE BURDEN

## COLORED MEN LYNCHED WITHOUT TRIAL.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1885..... | 78 | 1898..... | 102 |
| 1886..... | 71 | 1899..... | 84 |
| 1887..... | 80 | 1900..... | 107 |
| 1888..... | 95 | 1901..... | 107 |
| 1889..... | 95 | 1902..... | 86 |
| 1890..... | 90 | 1903..... | 86 |
| 1891..... | 121 | 1904..... | 83 |
| 1892..... | 155 | 1905..... | 61 |
| 1893..... | 154 | 1906..... | 64 |
| 1894..... | 134 | 1907..... | 60 |
| 1895..... | 112 | 1908..... | 93 |
| 1896..... | 80 | 1909..... | 73 |
| 1897..... | 122 | 1910..... | 65 |

Total.....2,458

## CONCERNING PARKS.

That Negroes are denied access to public parks in some cities of the South is a matter of common note. New Orleans has numerous playgrounds, but colored children may not enjoy them. Colored workmen passing through a park must not sit upon a bench, and colored mothers may not take their little children with them and play and rest under the city's trees in its attractive pleasure grounds. But while the black mother may not enjoy herself within the city enclosure when in company with her own babies, she is allowed every privilege if she is in charge of a white child. The black mammy is welcome as long as she is neglecting her own offspring for those of her white mistress.

In Memphis, Tennessee, the city's largest park is practically closed to Negroes. Only the boldest spirit dare enter, and then expulsion is almost certain. This park has an excellent zoological garden where white children may look as long as they like at the curious birds and beasts, but where colored children must never feast their eyes.

The colored citizens of Memphis are protesting vigorously against park discrimination, and the city is considering the acquirement of a park exclusively for the Negro's use. If they should do so, they should surely give the colored child a zoo; and might not this be a rare opportunity for the city fathers to teach racial integrity and the color line? Only black bears, or dark brown ones, should be on exhibition; black panthers, like Bagheera, should pace up and down the cages, and dark-plumaged birds alone should inhabit the aviary. Of course, no hybrid could possibly be allowed. One can see the dark brown eyes looking out of the little dark brown faces and learning at each cage the great lesson of consciousness of kind. And plenty of jim crows should be flying overhead.

## WHAT IS "UNDUE DISCRIMINATION"?

The story of the arrest of Dr. W. J. Thompkins, of Kansas City, a prominent colored physician, may lead to further important discussion of the right of Negroes to travel in Pullman cars throughout the United States. Dr. Thompkins was called to McAlester, Okla., on an important case. He purchased a Pullman ticket, but on reaching the town of Vinita, Okla., he was arrested, taken forcibly from the car and placed in jail. Brought before a justice of the peace he was fined $13. On payment of the fine he was allowed to proceed upon his journey. The matter will be carried to a higher court, and it may be that the Interstate Commerce Commission will reconsider its opinion in the case brought by the bishops of the African Methodist Church. In June, 1909, the Commission declared that colored passengers were not unduly discriminated against. It felt that the small number of colored passengers traveling on the through trains made it quite right that they should be allowed to eat only at the third call for dinner, and should endure what the Commission felt was not *undue* discrimination. Dr. Thompkin's experience should bring this whole matter again to the attention of the Commission and of the public.

## A CONTRAST.

Justice D. P. Wright, of Washington, has sentenced a colored man to fifteen years in the penitentiary for snatching a white woman's pocketbook. In passing sentence he said: "From the viewpoint of the white women of the National Capital, it is not to be tolerated that a colored man should dare put his hands on one of them," and "A man of your color, who lays his hand on a white woman will not be tolerated, if I can help it."

On the same day that Justice Wright pronounced this sentence and dictum his court witnessed what the local papers describe as a pathetic scene. A young white man had been arrested for grand larceny. He pleaded guilty, but his aged mother appeared in court and interceded with the judge and with the man who had been robbed. The result was that the prisoner was officially given one year in the penitentiary and then, as soon as this sentence was pronounced, he was paroled and sent home with his mother.

The Interdenominational Ministers' Union has sent a petition to Congress in which they quote the justice's remarks to the colored man and ask for a careful investigation. They say that while they "do not object to the severity of the sentence imposed, they, nevertheless, deem such expressions from the bench as indicative of a purpose to punish crime, not according to a just and impartial standard, regardless of race, class or condition, but with reference to the race of the offender and the race of the victim.

"Such a method of administering the law is contrary to the traditions and Constitution of the government, and of the laws themselves, and would result in converting courts of justice into instruments of oppression and injustice."

# TALKS ABOUT WOMEN

NUMBER FOUR

By Mrs. JOHN E. MILHOLLAND

To the woman who wants to vote all sorts of advice—good, bad and indifferent—has been offered. We all hope that these suggestions, together with her own supreme effort, will quickly bring about that condition which to her way of thinking is the one thing needful. All honor to these brave women, and I am sure THE CRISIS readers believe in their ultimate and complete success. To-day, however, there is to be a little talk to the home makers and to those mothers who above all else want to make a success of their own particular work in life.

To these women, who only too often have their hands as well as hearts full of the cares of their little folk, a word regarding that privilege is sometimes helpful. It is not always an easy matter to get rid of little ailments to which almost every child seems subject, when often a slight knowledge of how to prevent them would save not only anxiety but often expense. To every mother in many of our large cities is given the opportunity for a knowledge of hygiene—the right use of food and proper ventilation. These in a simple form are taught in many public schools. But many mothers must work alone. All, however, can do something. It would be easy, for instance, to see that the children of the household were taught to breathe properly, that their habits were regulated and a desire for wholesome food acquired to take the place of the love for unwholesome sweets for which American children are noted.

One mother I know takes her small brood in front of an open window each morning and makes them inhale deep long breaths. This must be done through the nose and exhaled slowly in the same way. She says that such regular and deep breathing keeps them from taking cold and helps to purify the blood, so that her children are seldom ill and never seriously so. Again, this same mother contends that a set of daily exercises or drills properly and regularly followed will build up the most delicate child, make in time a strong, straight spine, quick, supple movements and give grace and poise to the most ungainly boy or girl.

However that may be, it is certainly an easy and safe plan to try, and I have set down a few exercises as follows:

Standing straight with feet well together, bend over till the fingers touch the toes; repeat it two or three times until it becomes easy. Of course, the body must be bent only from the hips. Then sitting on the floor, have the boy or girl bend over, keeping the body as straight as possible, touching the fingers to the toes. Be very careful not to bend the leg, otherwise the exercise is of no use. The idea is to stretch the muscles of the back, from the waist. Not one person in ten, perhaps, is able to lie flat on the floor on the back, fold the arms and then try to sit up. This is a very difficult exercise, but can be acquired quite easily by practice and is an excellent tonic for the muscles of the abdomen.

So one might go on with these exercises which are very simple, but which, when rightly done and particularly when followed regularly, will in every case bring satisfactory results. They must, however, be done in a room well ventilated and by a person who is interested and is really desirous of obtaining certain benefits.

We mothers, too, have our vocation and one that is worth sacrificing much time and labor for. The moral development of our children is a far less difficult problem than their physical well being. When the health is good, when the body is well nourished, the nerves steady, the whole machinery kept normal by regular living, moral abnormalities are not likely to occur. Above all, it should be the mother, not the teacher or some little interested stranger, who looks after the child's development.

"He sings to the wide world, she to her nest," says the poet; and as one who has enjoyed the latter privilege, I fully believe it is the better part.

# WHAT TO READ

## BOOKS.

Fishberg, Maurice—The Jews; a study of race and environment. Scribner.
Johnson, J. P.—The Prehistoric Period in South Africa. Longmans.
Nearing, Scott—Social Adjustment. Macmillan.
Steiner, Edward A.—Against the Current. Fleming Revell.

## PERIODICALS.

Using the School House out of School Hours. A. Forsyth. The World To-day, January.
Unemployable and the Unemployed. Edith Sellers. Living Age, December 24.
Modern Views of Heredity. C. L. Dana. Scientific American, December 24.
Response of the Animals to Their Environment. P. Kropotkin. The Nineteenth Century, November and December.
The Poetry of Lincoln. James R. Perry. The North American Review, February.
Sidelights on Lincoln. Jessie Weik and Lambert Tree. Century, February.
The Discovery of the Fittest. Dr. S. Herbert. The Westminster Review, January.

## THE DISCOVERY OF THE FITTEST.

"The Discovery of the Fittest," by Dr. S. Herbert, in the January number of The Westminster Review, concludes thus:

"There is no denying the fact that there are intrinsic differences between good stock and bad. Undoubtedly there exist families of exceeding excellence, to which we all can point; and, on the other hand, the danger arising from the increasing multiplication of the unfit—be they insane, imbecile, or morally degenerate—is a real one. But whilst admitting to the full the importance of the hereditary factor in the transmission of such traits, it must not be forgotten that potentiality needs a proper soil in order to blossom out into full reality. The capable are with us; so are the degenerate. But so far no decisive evidence has been forthcoming to show that ability is the privileged possession of any one class, just as little that degeneracy is confined to the lower strata of society. Whilst, then, the Eugenist is rightly insisting on the selection of the fittest and the rejection of the unfit—and it is to his credit to have pointed out the necessity of distinguishing between innate and acquired characters and their consequences—it becomes his most immediate task for the future to make a careful and exhaustive inquiry into the values of the different social units. Only thus will it be assured that the fittest selected are the truly select of the nation."

[A Voice from the Congo. By Herbert Ward. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.]

This is an artist's book, as one sees at the first page, and it is the author's gifts as an artist that call for first recognition. The splendid bronze Congo warrior as frontispiece, the Sorcerer, the Mother and Children, together with photographs and drawings of the implements of the savage folk, their swords, shields, potteries, give the book its first importance. The writing, also, is a series of pictures, graphically told and not easily forgotten.

The Congo river is the center of the artist's story, and we glide down it in a canoe while the butterflies, like a white cloud, pass beside us; we land alone in the night in the wet swamp, up to our ankles in water, pestered by myriads of mosquitoes, waiting for the elephant that we have come to shoot; or we tramp mile after mile through the ever sunless, impenetrable forest. The many incidents that we see on the way "frequently contain tragedy and always more or less suffering." The natives live in continual danger from the animal life about them or from their own untutored selves, and the white explorer rarely lives to return to his home. We have a glimpse of Stanley, inflexible, successful; and another of the good missionaries for whom our writer has only words of praise.

There is one amusing story of the author's attempt, when in charge of a station, to introduce an athletic meet among the Congo natives. Some hundreds attend and first insist that they shall eat at once, running afterward. Refreshments over, the pistol shot starts them at a hundred-yard dash, which resolves itself into a wild struggle in which each contestant tries to disable his adversary. There is a tremendous scramble on the ground and when at length the goal is reached some fifty men pass en masse and all demand prizes. "The rest of the afternoon," the writer says, "I found myself in the midst of a violent, turbulent mob of people apparently bereft of all reason . . . and when late at night I stretched myself out for the night it was with the full conviction that the time for introducing sporting events into that part of the country was not yet ripe."

The author assures us that he went to Africa simply to gratify a love of adventure, and that he spent five of the most impressionable years of his life there. He took to Africans from the first. "With youthful exuberance," he says, "I fraternized with everyone I met, and soon found that there was a fund of good humor in the African composition. There was a good side to even the most villainous-looking savage, and I generally found it."

The more savage the tribe, one learns from his book, the more likely are the men to have attractive personal qualities. Writing of the men of the upper Congo, who practiced cannibalism, he tells us, "The cannibals are not schemers, and they are not mean. When they steal they generally grab. Though in direct opposition to all natural conjectures, they are among the best types of men, representing the most enlightened and enterprising of the Congo communities." This, however, is contradicted if we consider their treatment of women. For while a semi-civilization, the civilization of the middle Congo and along the coast, brings with it stealing and lying and a low cunning, it is also accompanied, our author shows us, by an improvement in the status of women. The savagery that develops high qualities in the dominant sex reveals its inherent immorality in its treatment of all who are physically weak.

The writer leaves these very human people who are often cruel, but who are, also, often kind, with the sincere wish that they be given a chance; that the Europeans who go among them may cease persecution and endeavor to lead them to high and worthy living.

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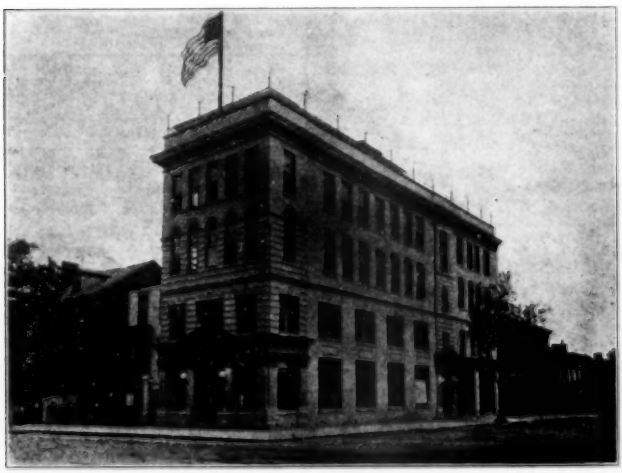

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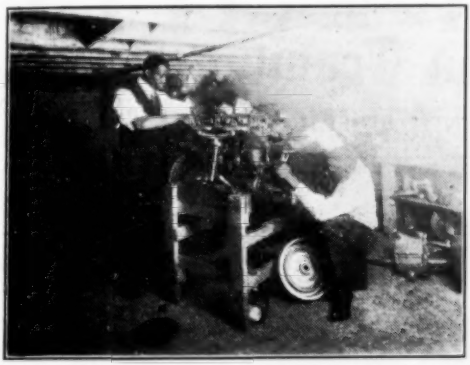

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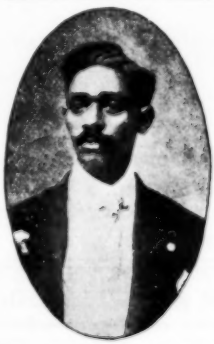

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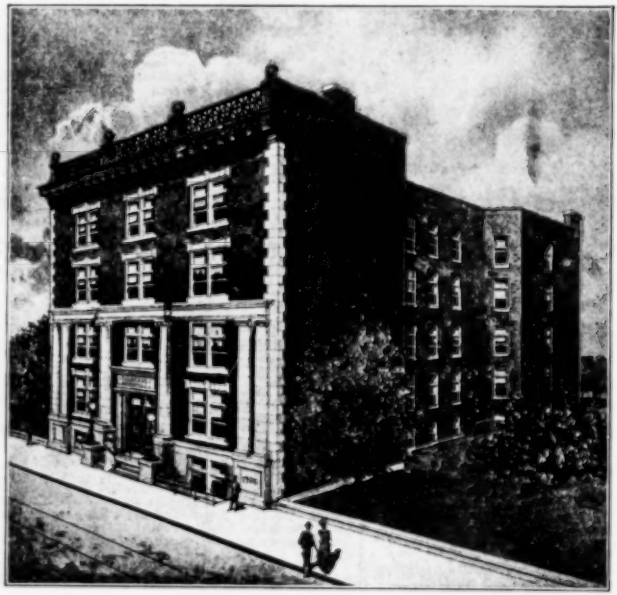

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